5: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RF1 Great Russia RF1

[Constitution as of 1949]

666 in elections to district Soviets - one deputy for every 1,000 of its population; a district with a population below 25,000 elects 25 deputies; a district with a population above 60,000 elects no more than 60 deputies;

In elections to city Soviets or city district Soviets - one deputy for every 350 to 1,000 of the population depending upon the size of the city; in a city or city district whose population does not exceed 12,000 35 deputies are elected;

in elections to the city Soviets of Moscow and Leningrad - one deputy for every 5,000 of their population;

elections to village and settlement Soviets - one deputy for every 100 of the population; rural localities (stanitsas, hamlets, auls) and settlements with a population below 1,000 elect 9 deputies; those whose population exceeds 2,500 - no more than 25 deputies.

The basis of representation for each Soviet of Working People's Deputies of territory, region, Autonomous Region, National and administrative Area, district, city, village and settlement is fixed in the Ordinance concerning Elections to Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Territories, Regions, Areas, Districts, Cities, Villages and Settlements of the Russian SFSR within the range of the bases of representation indicated in the present article.

Art. 146. Candidates for elections are nominated according to electoral districts.

The right to nominate candidates is secured to public organizations and societies of the working people: Communist Party organizations, trade unions, co-operatives, youth organizations and cultural societies.

Art. 147. It is the duty of every deputy to report to his electors on his work and on the work of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies, and he is liable to be recalled at any time upon decision of the majority of the electors in the manner established by law.

Chapter XIII. Arms, Flag, Capital

●186 Art. 148. The arms of the Russian SFSR are a sickle and hammer of gold placed crosswise, handles down, against a red background in the rays of the sun and surrounded by ears of grain, with the inscriptions "RSFSR" and "Workers of All Countries, Unite!"

Art. 149. The state flag of the Russian SFSR is of red cloth with a gold sickle and hammer and the gold letters "RSFSR" placed in the upper corner near the staff.

Art. 150. The capital of the Russian SFSR is the city of Moscow.

Chapter XIV. Procedure for Amending the Constitution

642 Art. 151. The Constitution of the Russian SFSR may be amended only by decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR adopted by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes of the Supreme Soviet.

000 This translation was made from a Russian text, with amendments through March 13, 1948, published by the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR in 1948. Additional amendments were incorporated from texts published in Izvestia through May 27, 1949.

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[XVth century]

175 allies were also the local boyars who were traditionally always ready, at the critical moment, to abandon their own local princes and rush to join the ascending power.

[795] In the middle of the fifteenth century, the representatives of the Church of Byzantium, in the hope of obtaining the Pope's help against the Turks, agreed to a union with Rome. However, in Moscow, whose power was ascending in the face of the disintegrating Mongol Empire and where the Turks were not considered a threat, no need was felt for any Latin help. Thus the Metropolitan of Moscow who gave his approval for the union with Rome was deposed and the Russian Church was declared autocephalous and independent of the Greek Patriarch. This break with the Byzantine Church was of far-reaching conse-

[659] quences. It placed the Russian Church into a completely dependent position on the Grand Prince of Moscow. From now on, the objectives of the Russian state and those of the Russian Church became inseparable.

175 Another international event, the fall of Constantinople (1453),
795 removed the last ideological barrier to the growth of the Muscovite Principality into a world empire. Since the seat of the Greek Patriarch had fallen into the hands of the infidels, Moscow became the strongest and the leading Eastern-Orthodox state thus inheriting the Messianic ideology of world salvation and of a Universal Orthodox Empire.

In accordance with such traditions the Russian clergy began to consider Moscow as the only true successor of the first and of the second Rome, as the only depositor of the True Faith, and as the center of a Messianic politico-religious Orthodoxy. By the beginning of the sixteenth century this ideology of the "Third Rome" was fully developed. The Grand Prince of Moscow had already adopted the title of Czar (Caesar). At that time a monk of one of the old monastaries of Pskov stated this idea in a letter to Czar Vasili III, in the following manner:

● [186] Two Romes have now fallen, and the third one, our Moscow, yet standeth, and a fourth shall there never be. In thy puissant Empire the council of our church doth shine throughout all the world with the light of holiness which is greater even than the light of the sun. In all the world thou alone art the Christian Tzar.[8]

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was invested with the most extensive powers and was given as its special mission the task of looking after the safety of the state and overseeing the doings of all departments, of all public functionaries, and of all people. The security police was an omnipotent and all-powerful body before whom all subjects were considered guilty unless they proved the contrary. This institution—developed in the course of centuries—became of paramount importance to its rulers. It became one of the most essential wheels of the government and one of the chief cares of the ruling class.[16]

III

Hierarchical relations of strict superordination and subordination in the military and bureaucratic ranks might foster feelings of identification with the mighty and the powerful. It is on such grounds that imperialistic nationalism and ideas of national superiority and grandeur thrive. And when state is fused with the Church in a system of theocratic militarism then nationalism might acquire also the aspects of religious fanaticism.

Expansion, greatness of the state, ideas of grandeur and Messianic ideas of world redemption or world domination might provide also compensation for humiliations, self-abasement, feelings of inferiority and unworthiness and other frustrations which are fostered in a system of abusive domineering-subservience relationships. As a result love of show, display of military might and need for conquests preoccupied the ruling strata of post-Petrine Russia as much as those of the Muscovite state. The Czar's court, the nobility, the military, the bureaucracy, the Church, the cities and the villages tended to display a grandeur that was in sharp contrast with the poverty of the country.[17]

This tendency toward exhibitionism and ideas of greatness was manifested also in the glorification of Russia, and the belief in the sacredness of its exalted mission in the world. Such attitudes and feelings which were rooted in the rigidly hierarchical military and bureaucratic structure were supported also by the Third Rome traditions of the Russian Church according to which Providence itself had bestowed upon Russia's rulers the role of the redeemers of mankind. According to these traditions and teachings Russia was a God-chosen country, the only country

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where true Christianity was preserved. In the official statements, in the prayers, in the Church sermons and school textbooks, the Russian Empire was represented as a Holy Land (*Sviataya Rus*).

Accordingly, official geographic studies and statistics tended to magnify everything within the frontiers of the Empire. Russian possessions and might, the resources and riches of the Czar, the progress and virtues of the country were pictured in the school textbooks in a fabulous way. A steady and imposing territorial growth of the Czardom in the course of many centuries at the expense of the East and the West undoubtedly supported these feelings of greatness. In this manner successes in policies of external expansion promoted desires for further conquests.

As long as the authority of the Church remained unshaken the power of the Czar rested on solid foundations. The Czars were able to increasingly concentrate and monopolize all social power while the Czardom expanded territorially in all directions, in spite of all its internal weaknesses.

In the meantime, however, the economic, educational and religious reforms introduced since the eighteenth century tended to undermine the sacredness of the Church as well as the power of the Czar. It was in such circumstances that feelings of revolt bred on all levels of social organization had an opportunity to come into the open, challenging the Czarist regime and all the institutions on which it was based. The people who were treated like wards and minors and were kept in oppressive dependency in the family, in the local community and on the state level rebelled against the system which kept them in perpetual bondage, a trend of events which finally brought about the downfall of the Czardom. The family roots and the development of this personal and social revolt which had shattered the Czardom will be discussed on the following pages.

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women as stupid and nasty, conceited and licentious, and as the mainspring of all calamities of the world.[10] But Tolstoy, too, like the Russian popular view of life, did make a distinction between the woman and the mother.[11]

Hostile drives, mistrust and destructive aggression might be revealed also in attitudes towards strangers. These are sometimes likened to animals, especially dogs. Comparing people with beasts indicates an inclination to abase them and to mistreat them. Such an attitude is shown especially toward those who are considered to be "enemies." When talking about the Tartars, the people would say "the dog of a Tartar." In a like way, xenophobia was manifested in the attitudes toward the "thrice accursed Latins," that is, the Western, non-Orthodox peoples.

Perhaps this need to abuse and to destroy in order to demonstrate one's power was manifested also in treatment of those who were abandoned and helpless, such as prisoners in foreign wars, as well as prisoners in rebellions and civil wars at home, or convicted criminals. In the rebellions and civil wars atrocities were committed by both sides, the government troops and the rebels, the Orthodox and the Dissenters, the Whites and the Reds. In a similar manner convicted criminals, domestic servants and serfs were often used as targets of destructive aggression.

Tendency to abuse was manifested also in the relations between merchants and customers, capital and labor. In the lowest strata ruthless self-seeking took also the form of begging. There was a great number of beggars; begging became a widely spread business. Some of the beggars became people of considerable means. Leaders among the beggars would mutilate, deprive of eyesight, and deform healthy men and boys to use them as their instruments in begging. Entire villages, and even some regions were said to have made begging their regular profession.[12]

II

In circumstances where power-seeking, destructive aggression and mistrust prevail any accident may be interpreted as a sign of another person's hostile intentions. The other person tends to be looked upon as a potential enemy. "You mustn't stroke anyone's head—you might get your hand bitten off," said Lenin.[13] And as

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inclined to take a defeatist attitude and who in their defeatism tended to acknowledge little in the achievements of Russia. They took a very negative attitude toward Russia's social and political system, demanded a break with Russia's past and wanted a thorough Westernization of the country.[4]

Another group of this landed gentry tended to idealize the values of the Old-Slavonic culture and those of the pre-Petrine, pre-bureaucratized, pre-secularized, and Holy Russia. These people, who were highly learned according to Western standards, were aware of many of the inadequacies and deficiencies of the Russia of their times. At the same time they feared the expansionistic designs of the West and the infiltration of Western thought, institutions and practices. They were extremely sensitive to the criticism of Russia and the Russian people prevalent in those days among Western scholars and other Western observers.

Apparently as a reaction to such a threat and criticisms, and perhaps also because seeking compensation for their wounded pride, these people resorted to a flight into Russia's past and projected an idealized image of former values of Russia and of Slav people into the future. They were inclined to criticize the political and social system which Peter the Great had introduced and in which he followed Western patterns; they demanded a return to pre-Petrine and Orthodox Russia reestablished in all its former glory. Such a visionary image of Russia enabled these well off landowning intelligentsia to see also themselves regaining the grandeur, the self-respect, the social prestige and the political power which they were rapidly losing to a parvenu military and bureaucratic hierarchy.

These people reacted aggressively against a challenging Western world by over-stressing what they thought were superior qualities of Slavs and superior values of Russian and Slav culture. It was in this manner that a romantic view of Slav folk society and of the Russian man was developed. These ideas left a strong imprint on literature, art, philosophy and political thinking both of the nineteenth and of the twentieth century Russia and became known as "Slavophilism."

Brought up in a patriarchal family system which had condi-

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tioned them to dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships, but yearning also for the Old-Slavonic anarchic and egalitarian justice, the "Slavophils" tended to idealize especially those institutions in which paternalistic, as well as equalitarian, relationships were well established, but which they saw distintegrating in new circumstances. Such was, for instance, the *mir* institution, according to their view.

According to the Slavophil interpretation, the old Russian and Slav community was founded on the principles of obedience, mutual responsibility, social justice and equality, Christian love and humility.[5] They asserted that the Russian land commune was the foundation of an original and highly satisfactory culture which was exempt from the vices of the Western civilization, untainted with proletarianization, pauperism, and the problem of wages. The mir was an institution in which man felt as an organic and integral part of his community. There was no uncertainty, no insecurity, and no frustrations in that social system since in it the values were absolute and unchallenged.[6]

The Slavophils idealized Russia's patriarchal relationships based on absolute and unchallenged values, on faith and on total fusion of man and community, as contrasted to Western individualism, cosmopolitanism, rationalism and skepticism. They contended that reason, if separated from faith, introduces doubts, splits and conflicts between man and his society. They stressed the organic totality and harmony of the Old-Slavonic and pre-Petrine Russian society in contrast to the materialism and class strife of the West.[7]

The old pre-Petrine order which the Slavophils idealized had greatly depended upon Church support and religious sanction for its perpetuation. The Slavophils therefore feared that Western liberalism which was beginning to penetrate Russia would undermine its religious foundation. As a defense against such demoralizing influences, the Slavophils pointed out that the Western world was rapidly disintegrating because of the spreading of free thought and because of the decline of the faith. The West was a prey to Roman heathenism, they said, and it was from this traditional anti-Christian spirit that revolutions, free thought, the papacy, and the Reformation had sprung.

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According to Slavophils the doom of the Western civilization was sealed when rationalism was allowed to destroy faith. It was then that the human spirit became divided against itself, which meant its disintegration. God and man, intuition and reason, beauty and truth are one, they claimed. As soon as man does not possess such a mystic unity with the absolute, he is plunged into skepticism and disbelief, his reason is separated from his soul and he becomes a "split man."

Owing to the organic totality of his body and soul, of his faith and reason, the Russian man possessed the "inner truth," which is the real truth, as against the "outer truth" or superficial truth of the Westerner, the Slavophils said. Therefore in contrast to the "split man" of the West, the Russian man was a "total man" (*vsechelovek*).[8] In this manner, the Russian man who has achieved his unity with God has achieved also the unity of his nation with God. The Russian nation is therefore a "God-bearing" nation (*Bogonosets*):

> . . . do you know who are the only 'god-bearing' people on earth, destined to regenerate and save the world in the name of a new God, and to whom are given the keys of life and of the new world . . . Do you know which is that people and what is its name?[9]

Aware that without strong religious feelings such a man and society could not exist, and fearing the decline of the old Orthodox-patriarchal values in a bureaucratized and secularized Russia, the Slavophils demanded a return to the old pre-Petrine theocratic system, one in which the Church would absorb the state. In accordance with such an ideology the Slavophils asserted that when the Church has absorbed the state, then the state will ascend and become a Church over the whole world, a Church kingdom ruling over all the earth which is the "glorious destiny ordained for the Orthodox Church."[10]

The Slavophils asserted that the political organization as developed in the West was a system of conquest and force. Being therefore an instrument of oppression, such a political organization was foreign to the Slavs and to the Russian people, and it should not be maintained.[11] In accordance with the anarchic and egalitarian traditions of the Old-Slavonic society, the Slavophils

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They believe that politics is the business of the government, the business of the Central Committee, and as for the writers that their business is not to interest themselves in politics. They believe that if a man wrote well, artistically, and beautifully, one should let it go, in spite of the rotten passages which disorientate our youth and poison it. We demand that our comrades, both the supervisors of literature and the writers themselves must be guided by something without which the Soviet regime cannot exist, and that is politics. Lenin wrote: "Literature must become Party-minded . . . Against bourgeois literary careerism and individualism . . . socialist proletariat must put forward the principle of party literature . . ." Comrade Stalin described our literati as the engineers of human souls. It is necessary therefore that our literature, our literary magazines, . . . should help the Party and the people to educate the youth in the spirit of supreme devotion to the Soviet regime . . .[16]

Special attention is paid in this respect to dramatic art because of its popularity and effect. It is stated therefore that "a playwright must be a politician" and that the producer and actor must be "politicians" of the same stature. Appointment of a group of actors for a Soviet play "is a political question for the producer . . . and how the hero must be played in a Soviet play is a political question for the actor."[17] In the same manner in painting, sculpture and music the Party demands "Soviet realism" which means that the artists and the musicians must have recourse to "topical themes and images of contemporary Soviet reality" and must discard "formalistic trickery and subjectivist insularity."[18]

Accordingly any alien, especially Western, influence on Soviet thinking must be completely eliminated. Western philosophy of liberalism and free individual expression could undermine Bolshevik endeavors to create a completely regimented and submissive "new man." Hence a crusade against "cosmopolitanism, objectivism and other manifestations of bourgeois ideology"[19] has been initiated together with the severance of all closer contacts of Soviet intellectuals with the Western world.[20]

Such policies of complete subordination of one's thoughts, feelings and behavior to the needs of the Party demand not only strict censorship of all published matter[21] but dictate even the use of statistics to suit the objectives of the ruling class. A ruling

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Comrade Stalin is the best friend of us children, of all the children of the world. It is he who builds for us the best schools, palaces of culture, stadiums and camps, where we can become strong and healthy, so that we can study more and better in the winter time, when we go to school. We must grow up as fighters worthy to take the place of those now present here (*Applause*)—as fighters devoted to the cause of the Party, devoted to the cause of the Communist International (*Applause*). Long live our beloved Stalin! (*Applause*).[40]

Accordingly the study and imitation of the life of the two deified Soviet leaders, Lenin and Stalin, is considered to be one of the primary duties and a sacred obligation of every Pioneer and Komsomol. The aim of the Party is to form the conscience of the young according to an idealized image of Lenin and Stalin. Young people are told to think constantly of their leaders, to be inspired by them, to follow them, and to love them. It is often pointed out that the reason that Stalin became so great and achieved the leading position in the Party was because he was such a faithful follower and loyal disciple of Lenin. "We must do everything so that our life is such as the unforgettable Iliich wanted it to be."[41] "In the soul of each one of us there is one and only one image which governs all of us. That is the image of the great Stalin."[42] And if a Pioneer or Komsomol is relaxing in his duties and vigilance, he is instantly reminded: "Comrade Iliich would not have approved of you." Stalin himself in his speeches often stressed the need to imitate Lenin:

> Remember, love, study, Iliich, our teacher, our leader. Fight and defeat enemies, internal and external—like Iliich. Build a new existence, a new mode of life, a new culture—like Iliich. Never refuse to do even the smallest jobs, because out of little things the great things are constructed—this is one of the important legacies of Iliich.[43]

IV

The apotheosis of Stalin did not seem to have sufficient appeal among sophisticated and disaffected intelligentsia, nor among dissatisfied and apathetic laboring masses who tended to blame Stalin for their ills. Nor was the identification of the Party with Mother sufficient to inspire faith in Bolshevik system. It was

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208 186 therefore imperative from the point of view of the survival of the Soviet power and self-perpetuation of the ruling faction to find new mass identifications and symbols. These were readily found in ideas of grandeur and perfection, and in ethnocentrism, rooted in Czarist traditions, in Slavophilism and in the Third Rome ideology. These feelings and attitudes were reinforced in [152] the structure of Soviet society in which, just as in the Czardom, dependency and subservience are likely to foster in the higher strata compensatory feelings of superiority and desire to dominate.

In Bolshevik ideology, however, self-apotheosis expressed in ideas of grandeur and in myths of social and national superiority, and in plans of conquest reached much higher proportions than in the Czardom. Thus the language of Bolshevism became saturated with words and phrases which convey the image of grandeur, perfection, holiness and eternity. Words and phrases, such as grandiose (*velichayshy*), life-giving (*zhivotvoryashchy*), invincible (*nepobedimy*), the most perfect (*naybolie soversheny*), limitless (*bezgranichny*), legendary (*bogatyrsky*), epoch-making, holy (*sviatoy*), miraculous (*chudotvorny*), immortal (*bessmertny*) and eternal (*vechny*) are regularly used to depict the achievements of the Soviet state. The Soviet state is referred to as the "magnificent Soviet State," as "the most perfect political form of power" which has already achieved "world-wide historical victories," and still contains "inexhaustible possibilities." There is today no such force "which could surpass its might."[44] Such a mighty and powerful Socialist state "shows a profound influence on the whole international life, on the hearts and minds of all liberty loving people," thus initiating a "new era in the history of human kind."[45]

The Soviet people themselves are said to be unique and to excel in their personal qualities. The Soviet man, as pictured by the Communist press has in every respect attributes superior to the man of any other society. Having "unheard-of opportunities for education," he is said to be at the head of all "progressive humanity." It is pointed out that he is the one who possesses "the only correct orientation" and absolute knowledge of the past, present and future given him by the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

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Unbounded faith in the victory of Communism gives the Soviet man and woman the strength to withstand otherwise unsurmountable difficulties. It is for this reason that his "unmatched heroism" has deserved the respect of all humankind. He has the interests of the state at heart as if they were his personal affairs, he shows an "infinite attachment" to the Communist Party, has a "most holy" respect for Lenin's legacy, and an "inexhaustible love" for his country. He is endowed with "limitless creative energies" and is ready for any sacrifice, including his own life, for the Soviet cause. He is a perfect man in a perfect society:[46]

> Where do you find such people and such a country as ours? Where do you find people with such superb qualities as manifested by the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War and as displayed by them in their toil which is at the head of the peaceful development and reconstruction of economic production and culture? Every day our people get higher and higher . . . We are not the same as we were yesterday. We changed and grew together with those majestic transformations which changed our country in its very roots.[47]

The grim Soviet reality, however, contradicts this mythology. There is therefore an imperative need to offset the demoralizing effects of such a contrast and to bolster the self-confidence of the people and the prestige of the ruling faction by concentrating all the efforts to achieve some spectacular accomplishments at home and abroad. The Soviet leaders are therefore tireless in magnifying any of their achievements in the field of technology, science, war or diplomacy. By emphasizing the monumentality of these deeds the Bolsheviks expect to leave on their subjects an ineradicable impression regarding the ability of the rulers and the greatness of the system. This line of thought and feeling explains the emphasis on many imposing prestige undertakings in addition to mythical projects that are said to have moved mountains, made oceans out of deserts, produced new species and conquered death. Also pyramidal monuments to Soviet victories, frequent military parades, demonstrations in which hundreds of thousands of people take part, and other mass pageantry are designed to make the people experience a feeling of invincibility, grandeur, and unsurpassable might of the Soviets.

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V

Perhaps the most significant aspect of this self-deification is found in the systematic endeavors of the Bolshevik leaders to emphasize the superior qualities of the Great-Russian people as compared to other peoples of the Soviet Union. The Great-Russians form less than half of the population of the Soviet Union, but they are the dominant nation in the state. The top Party bodies and the government and the managerial hierarchies, are overwhelmingly composed of the Great-Russians or of the non-Russians who have been thoroughly Russified. The Great-Russians constitute a majority in the branches of the Soviet armed forces deemed essential to the internal security of the Soviet Union. The Great-Russians predominate in the security police and its militia as well as in the air force and in the tank divisions and other mechanized troops. And the infantry units when composed of other ethnic groups always include a sufficient number of Great-Russians as a cementing force.[48]

There is strong emphasis on Russification in all schools of the country, especially the Party schools. In all constituent Republics, autonomous republics, and autonomous territories and regions, Russified natives or the Party members of Great-Russian origin figure as Party leaders, as top bureaucrats and top managers, or as advisers and experts.

In order to justify this policy of Russification and to accustom the non-Russians to the dominant position which the Great-Russians occupy in the Soviet Union, a myth of Great-Russian superiority has been developed by the Bolsheviks. At the Kremlin victory banquet on May 25, 1945, Stalin gave a toast "first of all" to the Great-Russian people. He referred to them as "the most outstanding of all nationalities forming part of the Soviet Union." According to Stalin, the Russian people "merit general recognition in the Great Patriotic War as the leading power among all the peoples of our country . . . they have a clear mind, steadfast characters, and endurance."[49]

A textbook on pedagogy asserts that "the history of the Russian people proves to all mankind their political wisdom, their military values, and their genius."[50] Other Soviet writings claim

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that "All the peoples of the Soviet Union recognize and appreciate the tremendous historical mission which the Great-Russian people is performing, as the outstanding people of the Soviet fraternity of nations."[51] In the same manner Grekov, a Soviet academician and one of the most outstanding Soviet historians, claims that the Russians, owing to their fighting ability and their readiness to sacrifice themselves for a good cause, saved the Western European civilization from barbarism and destruction even in the middle ages.[52]

Innate superiority of the Great-Russians is said to have manifested itself in an unsurpassable inventive genius. Hence the Russian military strategists, scholars and technicians are credited with a number of outstanding inventions which have been heretofore generally regarded as being developed in the Western countries. It is claimed, for instance, that the "Soviet Military science" developed by the Great-Russians is superior to any bourgeois concept of war. Also, most of the basic technological discoveries and inventions, from the spinning wheel to the nuclear nature of the atom, are said to have been the result of the "creative work of Russian genius,"[53] but "wrongfully ascribed to Germans, Englishmen, Americans, and Italians."[54]

Dominance of the Russians over the other peoples of the Soviet Union contradicts both the Socialistic doctrines and the Bolshevik myth of equality of all national and ethnic groups. As a result of Bolshevik policies of rigid centralization of power which promotes Russian hegemony, national and ethnic autonomies provided for by the Constitution became illusory. Reaction to such a situation has provoked dissatisfaction among subjected nationalities, resulting sometimes in open rebellions. To stamp out such revolts the Bolsheviks had to resort occasionally to resettlement and extermination of the whole recalcitrant populations, just as the Turco-Mongol rulers did before them. As a result a number of ethnic and national groups disappeared as separate entities, such as the Volga Germans, the Crimean Tartars, the Kalmyks and others.

The Bolsheviks realize, however, that these are means only to be used in extreme cases and in emergencies. Their aim is therefore to promote Russification among all their non-Russian sub-

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jects as a means of permanent control. It is felt that only by Russifying the non-Russian parts of the Soviet Union and convincing them of the benefits of close ties with Russian people and Russian institutions[55] a common culture will be developed; on such a basis a feeling of unity, of common interests and of common objectives will grow.

It is in light of such circumstances that the earlier Marxian theory of linguistics had to be revised to suit the new situation. Present language is not considered any more to be just a "superstructure" destined to give way to a completely new language of Socialism. On the contrary, Russian language and even Russian script is looked upon now as the basic language and basic script of Soviet socialism. Contrary to earlier Marxian theory, Russian language is now looked upon as an agent of unification and control under Soviet rule.[56]

Myths of national and racial superiority, however, do not appeal equally to all strata of the population. The toiling multitudes, if dissatisfied with their status, might remain deaf to such calling unless convinced that in different conditions their situation would become worse and even more precarious. It was to strengthen the latter feeling that the Bolshevik Party undertook to propagate a myth of the inferiority, rottenness, and damnation of the non-Soviet world. Building on anti-Latin and anti-Western traditions of the Orthodox Church and of Slavophilism the Bolshevik propaganda has attempted to develop attitudes of horror, disgust, and utter contempt of the capitalist world and of Western culture. Accordingly the Western society has been pictured as exploitative, war-mongering, decadent, decaying, full of internal conflicts and contradictions, and therefore self-destructive. The miserable, exploited, toiling multitudes in Western countries and their dependencies have been pictured as living in inhuman, deplorable and destitute conditions, exposed to constant unemployment and hunger, and heartlessly exploited by pitiless capitalists.

Because of this inherent and unsurmountable conflict of interests between labor's demand for higher standards and the capitalist's demand for higher profits, there is an intrinsic self-destroying tendency in the very nature of capitalism, the Bolshe-

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viks say.[57] The bourgeois countries are therefore inescapably crippled and inevitably doomed beyond any hope of recovery whatsoever.[58] The only way out of such an unbearable situation for the capitalists is to "turn the whole planet into a police station, under American supervision."[59] Hence the capitalists prepare for war and imperialistic expansion as the only way to maintain their power. They tend to encircle the Soviet Union and attack it. Therefore, sooner or later "a series of the most frightful collisions between the Soviet republic and bourgeois states is inevitable."[60]

Propaganda concerning the inevitable doom of capitalism is aimed at discouraging hopes for change in the Soviet system. Such propaganda supports the myth of the infallibility and invincibility of the Soviet system; the inevitability of the coming economic crises in the capitalist world, especially in the United States, will lead to the final breakdown of the capitalist system, the victory of the Soviets, and the establishment of a World Soviet Republic.[61] At the same time the claim that the capitalistic powers will resort to aggression as a last hope to save their dwindling system functions as a justification for aggressive diplomacy and strategic expansion; it strengthens the demands for greater sacrifices and deprivations in favor of police measures and war preparedness. The emphasis on the inevitability of war justifies also the increasing centralization of power and "iron discipline" within the Party ranks.

VI

Following Turco-Mongol and Czarist traditions, Bolshevik leaders believe that training in unconditional submission to superiors, identification with the powerful and faith in victory can be best achieved if the whole society is militarized. Militarization is looked upon as the best morale builder. When militarily organized, people are more amenable to control. Also a powerful army under the Party's control strengthens the confidence of uneasy and mistrustful rulers in their ability to check internal opposition and withstand external pressures or attacks. A powerful army is also a necessary instrument for aggressive diplomacy and territorial expansion; it becomes an instrument

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strengthen the control of the Party over that fundamental social institution. This intent to completely subject the family to the Party's aims is expressed in Bolshevik ideological parlance as "the cultural-educational influence of the socialist state upon family relationships in the direction of strengthening socialist principles."[21]

II

Following Russian traditional attachment to the Mother Country, Soviet pedagogical principles demand that love for the *Rodina* should be emphasized in the training of children. Building on traditional mother-child attachment in the Russian family, the Party instructs teachers to point out to their pupils how Lenin was attached to his mother.[22] It also emphasizes the tender relations between Stalin and his mother. Teachers are told that this natural attachment of a child to his mother should be used as a means to instill in the child love for his Mother Country.[23]

At the same time in the school textbooks, in the daily press, in the speeches of Party leaders and all other means of mass communication, it is the Bolshevik Party that is represented to be the Mother of the Komsomols, Pioneers, and Octobrists, and the "mother of the Soviet people." The love for the Rodina is, therefore, interpreted as being conditioned by and subordinated to the primary duty of love for the Party or the Leader with whom the Party is identified. Hence, even when mother-attachment remains strong in a Soviet child, the attempt is made to transfer that attachment to the Party and to raise loyalty to the Leader and to the Party above loyalty to the country. Thus Party loyalty precedes both family and national loyalty in the Soviet educational philosophy. "Party is above everything else," the Bolsheviks say. And it is this loyalty to the Leader, Party or Cause which precedes all other loyalties that forms the core of Bolshevik internationalism and the basis of its world appeal, not unlike the appeal of a universal church.

Most children of elementary school age and a greater part of those on secondary school level belong to Party auxiliary organizations, the Octobrists, the Pioneers and the Komsomols. In the great variety of activities in which these organizations are ex-

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one's helplessness, feeling of rejection, and dependence upon the controlling power is especially keenly felt. In such conditions even a slight deviation might provoke a feeling of guilt, need for self-punishment and suffering; it might call for public self-humiliation, confession of errors and pledges to repent and to correct the wrong done, especially when such practices are supported by the inherited traditions. There is therefore a certain degree of truth in the assertion of the Bolsheviks, that "Criticism and self-criticism is a great driving force in the development of Soviet society."[10]

II

In a "prison and barracks" society privileges of power and ideas of grandeur do not sufficiently compensate for lack of acceptance, isolation, humiliations, feelings of insecurity, and sense of inferiority and rejection. In an atmosphere of suspicion, intrigue, degradation, and lack of intimate personal and intellectual contact and of social support, anxieties, fears, extreme self-concern, and deep antagonisms easily flourish. Such a situation tends to magnify feelings of destructive aggression developed on the family level and is therefore likely to become overcharged with extreme hostilities and hatreds; it is likely to become full of potential explosiveness which may be directed against the ruling class itself unless convenient channels for discharge of aggressiveness are found.

In a society in which overt expressions of emotional behavior are under the control of a ruling clique, accumulating aggressions are readily directed against internal and external "enemies" of the regime, be they real or invented for the occasion. In this manner the feeling of hostility against the regime might be redirected against its opponents. It is therefore in the interest of survival of the ruling faction in such a society to cultivate hatred and destruction of the "enemy" by all means of public pressure, propaganda, agitation, education, as well as lawmaking.

These are the reasons why attitudes of extreme animosity against the "enemies of the Soviet Motherland" are propagated in the Soviet daily press and in the school textbooks. Stirring hatreds is one of the main tasks of Party agitators.[11] Accordingly

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in the political philosophy expressed in Soviet writings and in the speeches of outstanding Party members, extreme hatred of the internal and external adversaries is considered as a precondition of Bolshevik victory and of survival of Soviet society. Thus, for instance, in a May Day Order of the Day, Stalin, as People's Commissar of Defense declared: "You cannot defeat any enemy without having learned to hate him with all the power of your soul." In Soviet writings Lenin is hailed as a man who had "a holy hatred of the oppressors of the people . . . "[12]

Just like the Anarchists before them, the Bolsheviks claim that a deliberate cult of hatred is a precondition for the development of a "revolutionary passion." They justify hatred as a means to achieve their revolutionary goals. Following the same traditions the Bolsheviks insist that fanatical devotion should be instilled in people as a means to arouse passionate hatred. Therefore deliberate cultivation of hate together with the training in extreme identification with the Leader, the Party, the Motherland, and the Communist cause must start with kindergarten and with school training of Soviet children. Passionate hatred and passionate love are expected to mutually strengthen each other. According to pedagogical teachings, the Soviet children should be "saturated with irreconcilable hatred toward the enemies of socialist society," as well as with "passionate love of the Motherland." But here too just as in the Anarchist precepts, hatred appears to take the first place and love the second:

> Hatred gives birth to class revolutionary vigilance and creates a feeling of irreconcilability toward the class enemy; the weakening of such vigilance undermines the cause of the socialist revolution. It is necessary to learn, not only to hate the enemy, but also to struggle with him, in time to unmask him and finally, if he does not surrender, to destroy him . . . to vanquish the enemy is impossible without the most burning hatred of him . . . Passionate love of the motherlands breeds inevitably strong hatred of the enemy.[13]

Many outstanding Soviet novelists in their writings emphasize this cult of destructive aggression. Maxim Gorki, for instance, wrote an essay entitled "If the enemy does not surrender, he must be destroyed." Konstantin Simonov, another outstanding Soviet

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has been made between "imperialist war of aggression" and "national and class liberation." The first is said to be an "unjust war" of imperalists, exploiters and war mongers, the latter is a movement of the peoples to liberate themselves from the capitalist yoke or from colonial oppression. It is said that in this "just struggle" of the peoples of the world against oppressors the Soviet Union will unselfishly interfere with its armies to help the people to liberate themselves and also to protect liberated peoples from counter-revolution. It is therefore the duty of the working class and of "progressive-minded people" all over the world to strengthen the might of the Soviet Fatherland as "the center of international revolution":

> Being the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of Socialist construction, the land of great working class achievements, of the union of the workers with the peasants, and of a new culture marching under the banner of Marxism. . . . the USSR inevitably becomes the base of the world movement of all oppressed classes, the center of international revolution, the greatest factor in world history. In the USSR, the world proletariat for the first time acquires a country that is really its own, and for the colonial movements the USSR becomes a powerful center of attraction.[32]

In order to make Communist parties a tool of this new "Third Rome" ideology all these parties had to follow in their internal organization the Bolshevik pattern of rigid centralism and of unconditional obedience of all the subordinate organs to the higher bodies.[33] Each local Party had to be centralized in such a manner that its leadership was "endowed with complete power, authority, and ample rights" which would enable it to impose "an iron discipline" over its members.[34] All members were expected to accept such centralized Party leadership with absolute power and to "submit to its dictates."[35] This was possible only if "the strictest military discipline" and "unconditional subordination" were established within the ranks of each Communist Party:

> . . . The Communist Party should be organized on the basis of strict proletarian centralism. In order to lead the working class successfully during the long, stubborn civil war, the Communist Party must

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people the road to democratic development. Coming to power after severe struggles with the lords and defenders of the old order, the Hungarian working class, in union with the working peasants, rebuilt our war-destroyed country with the unselfish support of the Soviet Union. Under the guidance of the working class hardened in decade long struggles, benefiting by the experience of the 1919 social revolution, depending on the Soviet Union, our people began laying the foundations of socialism.[40]

To emphasize the superiority of the Soviet Union, its undisputed leadership and dependence of the satellites upon it in the struggle for world revolution, an important distinction has been made in regard to the social and political structure of the dependencies in comparison with that of the Soviet state. Though both are said to be the "dictatorships of the proletariat,"[41] the Soviet state is said to be carrying out the transition from Socialism to Communism; the "people's democracies," on the other hand, are said to be carrying out only the transition from capitalism to Socialism.[42]

Complete political and economic dependence of the satellites upon the Soviet Union is ideologically justified by the claim that the general objectives of world revolution presuppose an industrially as well as a militarily powerful Soviet Union as a base. To this primary objective of all Communists local interests of the satellites must be subordinated. Therefore, any opposition to such plans or any hints that the "fraternal assistance" offered by the Soviet Union in the interest of the revolution might not be completely unselfish is immediately castigated as "nationalism," as "opportunism," and as "treason":

> The essential task, that of laying the foundation of Socialism in Poland, can be carried only in close alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union . . . Any tendency to weaken cooperation with the Soviet Union is directed against the very foundation of the People's Democracy . . . Anyone who imagines that the people's democratic state can be formed merely as a self-sufficient body, on a national scale, isolated from the class struggle on an international scale . . . will inevitably sink into the slough of nationalism and treachery.[43]

This system of political, military and economic dominance of the dependencies implies an elaborate system of watching, super-

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its own appointees and trusted agents in all the key positions in the Yugoslav Communist Party and in the Yugoslav state administration.[48]

Even during this short stay of the Red Army in Yugoslav territory, the relations between Communist-Partisan rulers of Yugoslavia and their Soviet liberators became tense. The tension resulted from the "haughty attitude" of the liberators and the hostility that this attitude provoked among the liberated.[49] And later when the Soviet Union attempted to infiltrate Yugoslavia with advisers and experts, the Yugoslav officers began "to abuse" the Soviet military advisers[50] and Yugoslav authorities showed such a "lack of hospitality and lack of confidence" that their security organs "controlled and supervised the Soviet representatives in Yugoslavia."[51] The Yugoslav Communist authorities also refused economic information to the Soviet trade representatives and resented the Soviet Ambassador in Yugoslavia collecting information about the conditions within the Yugoslav Communist Party. And when the Yugoslav Communist leaders and their agents prevented the attempt of the Soviet Union to establish a net of its intelligence agents in the country and within the Yugoslav Communist Party,[52] the final break could not be avoided any longer.[53]

Two totalitarian controls cannot exist in one and the same territory. Thus, when the Soviet Union had realized that Yugoslavia was under the firm control of the Yugoslav Communist Party and police. that they could not liquidate its leadership which became too challenging and could not therefore bring the country to a state of complete dependence, subordination and vassalage, the next alternative left was to expel Yugoslavia from the Cominform.[54] A Communist state out of the Kremlin's hold, if allowed to remain within the Soviet orbit, could undermine the very foundations of the Kremlin's dominance over other satellites.

Similar resentment, antagonism, and lack of trust that developed between the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the Russian Politburo has always existed in all other satellite states in various degrees and forms.[55] Many Communists, particularly the "idealists" and patriots resent the presence of Russian

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experts, advisers, representatives, and agents occupying positions of power and control in each satellite country, especially their haughty and insulting behavior, constant tutoring and sermonizing on the part of Moscow and need to accept the Kremlin's dictates with humility and gratitude. Also economic exploitation of the vassal countries in the interest of the Soviet Union, the imposition of Russian language and Russian culture, the danger of military occupation and the threat of resettlement of whole sections of the population to Siberian mines and lumber camps, all of these cannot but provoke anxieties, fears, and hatreds on the part of the subjected peoples:[56]

We are finding out that not only lack of knowledge and ability is displayed in the Czech Army toward the Soviet military science and Soviet war experiences, but that we encounter even a direct distaste and resistance based on hatred toward everything Soviet.[57]

For this reason "Titoism" in one form or another has appeared in all satellite countries. A "Titoist crisis," for instance, took place twice in Outer Mongolia, in 1924 and in 1930–32.[58] In other satellite states the same crises were manifested in a number of "spy trials" and execution of outstanding satellite leaders. But purges and trials do not eliminate the sources of dissatisfaction and hostility. Since the causes remain and constantly generate new feelings of destructive aggression, Bolshevik leaders have to constantly increase measures of security, vigilance, and control in all their dependencies. The Kremlin is therefore increasingly forced to rely on power-seeking careerists, on members of minority groups, on Russian subjects, and on children from dependent states taken to Russia and trained as "New Janizaries" to rule their own countries in a "Rokossovsky way."[59] The patriots and the humanists among the Communists have to make room for violent zealots and cynical careerists, "for such men who would not scruple any means in carrying out the orders. . ."[60] The leaders who fought with their people in underground movements against Nazi invaders have to give way to "a few individuals who spent the wartime in Moscow [and] were installed in a 'Rokossovski way' in the top positions . . . lacking the contact with the population and knowledge of its wishes, they mechani-

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cally apply methods which are in flagrant contradiction to our traditions and incompatible with them."[61] Such policies in turn only emphasize the feeling of insecurity, isolation and mistrust; they cause apathy and a slowing-down in economic and intellectual advance.[62]

In this manner the pattern of Bolshevik expansion which was designed to release and redirect the hostilities accumulated within Soviet society has only extended the area of strains and tensions. The addition of each new dependency therefore adds fresh pressures for more aggression directed outward. In such circumstances the Bolshevik leadership is forced not only to instigate its satellites toward external aggression but also to deliberately provoke and perpetuate international tension. By such means the Bolsheviks expect to maintain a constant external pressure that would work toward unity of the Soviet orbit and rallying of all dependencies behind Moscow.

In the meantime, however, such growth and expansion of Soviet power and Communist fomented unrest could not have failed to provoke increasing anxieties and fears in the countries which consider themselves threatened by Bolshevik advance. War preparedness in the West and formation of anti-Soviet military alliances has been the result. Mutual suspicions and international tension which have developed in these circumstances have increased to a point which has already taken the form of a "cold war" and of scattered localized warfare. Thus growing friction between these two increasingly hostile and aggressive worlds might eventually break into an all-out fighting on a global scale.

On the other hand increasing resistance to Soviet expansion on the part of Western powers might eventually completely seal the outlets for Soviet outward aggression. In such a case accumulating internal complexities and stresses generated by the structure of Soviet power might get out of the Kremlin's control and bring about disintegration of Bolshevism through internal conflicts, especially if these are widened and sharpened by means of planned external economic and psychological pressures.

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Russian people and became its very life. But the Byzantine character of Russian religion was conserved. As we have already seen the Russian Church was for long dependent upon Constantinople. Its literature consisted of translations or imitations of Byzantine writings. Its Metropolitan was a Greek consecrated in Constantinople and sent to rule the Russian Church. The two exceptions provided by the appointment in Russia of Hilarion in 1051 and Clement in 1147 are regarded as isolated cases which did not impair the theory and change the practice, which held good till 1448.

Politically the Russians lived for a century and a half under Mongol domination. From the battle of Kalka in 1223 the onslaughts of these mysterious, hideous and inhuman hordes, suddenly appearing from whence no man knew, burning, killing, capturing, had struck terror into the hearts of the dwellers on the Russian plain. Kiev, the cradle of Russian Christianity, the ancient and beautiful stronghold on the Dnieper, was sacked in 1240, and one by one the rest of the Russian towns speedily succumbed. Novgorod alone escaped, protected by its remote situation behind its marshes and forests, and by the courage, self-sacrifice and political wisdom of its prince, St. Alexander Nevsky. The Tartar rule bore less heavily upon the Church than upon the State. When their victory was assured the Tartars were at first, in matters of religion, easy-going pagans, and so long as they received their tribute, did not interfere unduly with the religion of the people they conquered. And as was also to be the case later on with the Balkan peoples under the Turk, it was their religion and their Church which, in the days of social and political disaster, saved the Russians from complete despair and preserved among them some sense of fundamental unity in spite of all their factions and divisions.

The Russian Church was the nurse of the growing national spirit of Russia. In the person of one of its great national saints, Sergius of Radonezh, who founded the Monastery of the Holy Trinity near Moscow, for centuries the citadel of Russian religion and national aspiration, it inspired the movement which thrust back the Tartar domination. In 1380 Dmitry of the Don, whose building of stone walls round Moscow had been a challenging gesture to which the Tartars were not slow

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795 to respond, came to seek the advice of St. Sergius and received the calm assurance: "Go forward and fear not, God will be with
• 186 thee." Everything was at stake, including Russian religion, for the Tartars had by this time embraced Islam, and their easy-going tolerance of Christianity was a thing of the past. The hard-fought wavering battle of Kulikovo Pole followed and ended in a Russian victory, and the beginning of the end of the Tartar dominance.

795 Much missionary activity was displayed by the Russian
1799 Church during the period of Tartar domination. Even among the Tartars themselves this evangelistic work was carried on, while many a lonely outpost of monastic life in the forests and swamps of the north spread the faith of Christ in regions where it had been unknown before. Few names of individual pioneers have been handed down, but among them is that of the energetic missionary bishop, Stephen of Perm.

After the fall of Kiev, the centre of gravity in Russian life, both political and ecclesiastical, had moved northwards, first to Vladimir and finally to Moscow, around which Ivan the Great and his son Vasili IV built up the Tsardom of Muscovy at the close of the Tartar period.

It was at first but a small area in the centre of what is modern European Russia. Kiev and the south were not under its control, nor did it extend to the Baltic. It had no port until the commercial enterprise of the Englishman, Richard Chancellor and his fellow traders, provided one at Archangel in the sixteenth century. But to the east expansion was to prove surprisingly easy, the counterflow to the Tartar invasion swept into Siberia under Yermak towards the end of the sixteenth century, and the colonists that followed bringing the life and religion of Russia were soon to reach the shores of the Pacific.

795 But to return to the fifteenth century, the Tsardom of Moscow was for long to remain the only Orthodox Christian realm free from foreign and non-Christian suzerainty, and it became aware of itself as the heir of Constantinople. Nor were the Russians unwilling to see their Church play the leading rôle in Orthodox Christendom. From their point of view Constantinople had deserved its fate, for its act of apostasy in accepting the terms of Union at Florence. A Greek named

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the Russians for ecclesiastical law as a further reason for the delayed independence of the Russian Church. For the canons require the consent of the mother Church before the daughter can become autocephalous, and Constantinople was reluctant to give this consent. "The income which Constantinople received from the broad and rich Metropoly of Russia formed a huge item in the Patriarchal budget." It is, however, not fair to assume that Constantinople was actuated entirely by mercenary motives. However that may be, in the end the Russians took the matter into their own hands, regarding themselves as absolved from their canonical obedience by the fact that in their view Constantinople had lapsed into heresy by accepting the Union of Florence.[1]

Thus the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the submergence of the Balkans beneath the flood of Turkish invasion, roughly coincided with the emergence of Russia from beneath the yoke of the Tartars. As Orthodoxy was eclipsed in the south, it arose with new strength and splendour in the north and Moscow picked up the torch which fell from the dying hand of Constantinople. The legend of "Moscow the Third Rome" came to birth as the inspiration and expression of this renewal of life and ambition among the Russians after their long experience of depression under the Mongols, and brought with it a sense of their responsibility for the future destiny of Orthodoxy in history and of a Russian mission to the world. The message of the monk Philotheus to the Tsar Vasili III (1505 to 1533) assuring him that although two Romes had fallen a third had risen in the north which should never pass away, and acclaiming him as the supreme and only Christian ruler in the world, long haunted the minds of the Russians, and was expressly endorsed by the Stoglav Council in 1551 (see below, p. 101). A surprising ancestry was discovered for the Russian ruler, whose line of descent was traced back to the imperial house of ancient Rome, if not beyond. Correspondingly he assumed the imperial title, he became Tsar (Caesar) and "autocrat".

[1] According to the writer just quoted the Russians did apply in due form for the consent of Constantinople to the consecration of their nominee Jonah as Metropolitan of Moscow in 1448, but there is no evidence that any reply was received.

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excommunicated the Old Believers, deposed Nikon himself and banished him into monastic seclusion.

The line of Patriarchs continued until 1700 when Adrian the last of the original succession died. By this time the dynamic personality of Peter the Great had appeared on the scene and inaugurated a new period in Russian history. In building the city on the Neva which bore his own name he opened his famous "window upon Europe" through which a hurricane blew which disturbed, scattered and rearranged many things in the life of the Russians. Peter admired all things Western and was determined to make Russia a great nation after the pattern of the West. So far as the Russian Church was concerned Peter's reforms had little if any effect in the sphere of doctrine, but he saw to it that bishops were appointed who sympathized or at least were ready to co-operate with his critical ideas on traditional Russian customs and who were willing to acquiesce in the subservience of the ecclesiastical hierarchy to his own autocratic will. Most important of all, he permitted no election of a successor to the Patriarch Adrian, and twenty-one years later abolished the Patriarchate altogether. The formal instrument by which this change was made was entitled the "Ecclesiastical Regulation". There were to be no more Patriarchs in Russia, instead the supreme authority in the Church was to be vested in a body formed on the German Lutheran model and known as the Holy Governing Synod.

This was no synod in the ordinary ecclesiastical sense of the word, but a committee whose members were appointed and dismissed at the will of the Tsar. In addition a secular official called the Procurator was appointed by the Emperor. This layman was not indeed a member of the synod, but his function was to supervise all its proceedings, and without his consent the synod could enact nothing, nor even choose what matters it should discuss. The bishops were dragooned into acceptance of this system, completely foreign as it was to the spirit of the Russian Church. Yet Peter's organization lasted until the collapse of the Empire in 1917.

It is an eloquent testimony to the dynamic force of Peter's personality that the impetus of his reforming movement survived his death. But it introduced deep cleavages and

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confusion into Russian life. The Court and governing classes in St. Petersburg became the least Russian of all sections of the nation, indeed they were more German than Russian, and for long the reform of Peter affected only the educated classes of society. Behind the St. Petersburg façade was the great mass of the people who continued to regard everything Western with suspicion and even abhorrence. Nevertheless, the movement gradually made headway and in due course the interplay of Western ideas and native Russian thought was to produce modern Russian culture and especially the astonishing achievement of Russian nineteenth-century literature.

The "Westernizers" who believed that the destiny of Russia was to follow the path of the West, and the "Slavophils" who put their faith in the Orthodox tradition of native Russian culture, sharpened their wits upon each other in drawing-room discussions and set forth their views in books. But behind all this and but little affected by it, the religious life of the Russian people went on as before. The official Church and the majority of the hierarchy supported the Government even if they disapproved of things Western. Tsar and Metropolitan needed each other, for each believed that in the preservation of the other his own well-being was involved.

But the schism inherited from the seventeenth century still continued and the "Old Believers", among whom was conserved much that was most profound and sincere in the traditional religion of Russia, would have no truck with the St. Petersburg Empire which was anathema to them, nor with the official Church which had come to terms with it. There were in course of time many groups of these interesting schismatics, some of whom had a clergy and some had not. If sections of them degenerated into sects which were psychologically abnormal, the bulk of them, consolidated by persecution and fanatically tenacious of their beliefs, upheld a high standard of conduct and their communities were a storehouse of many significant and beautiful elements of Russian Orthodoxy. Although after 1800 some availed themselves of more generous terms offered them for reconciliation to the Church, the Old Believers exist to this day as a well-organized body of some millions under their own bishops.